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ABSTRACT

Beginning from general concepts of identity formation, this review of models of African American identity development proceeds to Marcia's expansion of Erikson's identity model and to Chickering's vector theory. DuBois's concept of "double identity" and Erikson's writings concerning "adaptive coping" in minorities are considered. Cross's "Nigrescence" model and related studies are reviewed. Recent models of acculturation, cross-cultural viewpoints, and culture-specific viewpoints are discussed. Models of Afrocentrism or "Africanity" are explored. Today's generation of adolescents and young adults are growing up in a more culturally diverse and integrated environment; their identity is linked to the experiences of the black community and affected by the dominant culture and other ethnic communities. Additional constructs are needed to assess healthy identity development in today's society; personal and environmental essentials are discussed. Themes that emerge from this review include the following: (1) Contemporary African American college students are strongly influenced by their families and community; (2) racial and ethnic relationships between other cultural and ethnic minorities as well as with white Americans are significant; and (3) an understanding of history is necessary to assess sufficiently African American identity development. African Americans have shared a challenging history; however, they have also demonstrated a remarkable collective resilience. A compilation of 13 identity, ethnic identity, racial identity, and student development theories is included. (EMK)

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AFRICAN AMERICAN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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AFRICAN AMERICAN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

General Identity Development

The concept of identity and identity development was initially presented by Sigmund Freud, who referred to identity or "inner identity . . . [as] an individual's link with the unique values, fostered by a unique history of his people" (Erikson, 1959, p. 102). While introducing the notion of an individual and group identity to resolve personal conflicts between himself and the Jewish people, Freud (1923) was one of the first to introduce the social and historical dynamics of personal development (Erikson, 1959). According to Freud, identity is the integration of an individual within the group and how he or she learns to interact within that group as well as how he or she interacts with other groups. Based upon Freud's theory of ego development and Hartmann's adaptation theory, psychosocial theorist Erik H. Erikson further examined the concept of ego identity development (Erickson, 1959).

In an attempt to define the characteristics that create a healthy identity or personality, Erikson stated that "a healthy personality actively masters his environment, shows a certain unity of personality, and is able to perceive the world and himself correctly" (Erikson, 1959, p. 51). According to Erikson (1959), it was also clear that the development of a healthy personality is directly related to children's cognitive and social growth. Erikson saw development of a healthy child much like the physical growth of any other living organism, equating personality development with

> the epigenetic principle . . . which states that anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole. (Erikson, 1959, p. 52)

A healthy personality or identity is established during a series of significant developmental stages and interactions. While the number and quality of interactions vary from culture to culture, healthy personality or identity development is governed by a proper and sequential rate of experiences by the child with his or her environment (Erikson, 1959, 1968). In other words, in order to develop a healthy personality, a child must have a series of positive cognitive experiences as well as significant social interactions (Erikson, 1959, 1968).

Identity is a set of "comprehensive gains which the individual, at the end of adolescence, must have derived from all of his pre-adult experience in order to be ready for the tasks of adulthood" (Erikson, 1959, p. 101). Identity is who we are as individuals as well as who we are as members within a group (or groups) and how we equip ourselves (or are equipped) to deal with our past, present, or future environments (Winsell, 1971). Although identity is being shaped and formulated from the minute a child is born, identity is most significantly shaped and stabilized during late adolescence and young adulthood (Chickering, 1969; Erikson, 1959; Wilson, 1978).

Late adolescence is one of the most significant time periods in an individual's life. It is a time when young adults are gaining the competencies and abilities necessary to become fully functioning adults (Erikson, 1968). While they are more inclined to find comfort within cliques or groups, continual exposure to cognitive and social challenges usually help adolescents to progress toward a healthy identity formation. In the identity stage of development, adolescents are eager to be validated by their peers, supported by their teachers, and inspired by other adults who are influential in their lives (Erikson, 1968; Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983). Conversely, adolescents who do not feel supported or who feel deprived by their environment fail to develop and integrate into the higher levels of adult development (Erikson, 1968).

In his research on identity and identity development, James Marcia (1966, 1980) expanded Erikson's stage or status or identity approach beyond its negative and positive (achievement/failure) associations. Like Erikson, Marcia saw identity as "an existential position, to an inner organization of needs, abilities, and self-perceptions as well as to a socio-political stance" (Marcia, 1980, p. 159). Marcia (1980) did not see identity as something that was achieved or attained, but rather as a dynamic and ongoing process driven by a series of crises in an individual's life in which physical development (Marcia, 1980), cognitive growth (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983; Marcia, 1980), and social expectations (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983; Marcia, 1980) "coincide to enable young persons to sort through and synthesize their childhood identifications in order to construct a viable pathway toward their adulthood" (Marcia, 1980, p. 160).

"Ego and identity diffusion refer to polar outcomes of the hypothesized psychosocial crisis occurring in late adolescence" (Marcia, 1966, p. 551). Crises are not defined as tragedies or misfortunes, but are rather the decisions or commitments that adolescents make during this significant period of human development. Erikson's industry phase is one of the underpinnings of successful identity development in adolescent growth. Whether or not an adolescent leaves the industry stage with a healthy confidence in his or her abilities and specific vocational skills will carry the individual into the next stage of his or her life (Marcia, 1980). During adolescence, problems of coherence, continuity, meaningfulness, and self-definition may, and frequently do, take precedence in individual awareness. At times these problems take on overwhelming importance. It is within this period of development that correspondences between childhood expectations and envisioned adulthood are sought and frequently not found (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983).

Marcia (1966, 1980) proposed specific measures to capture ego identity development as a series of psychosocial tasks. Within this measure, Marcia proposed four distinct identity statuses within which adolescents adapt various identity negotiation strategies. During the first status, identity achievement, adolescents have committed to vocational, spiritual, sexual, moral, and other social dilemmas. In the identity diffusion status, individuals demonstrate a lack of commitment ability or lack the desire to make decisions, opting instead to do nothing or let life happen as it comes. The third status of Marcia's identity statuses is the foreclosed status. Much like the identity diffused individuals, foreclosed adolescents do not make commitments and tend to shy away from dealing with crises. Unlike the diffusion status, moratorium individuals actively

allow, or look to, significant others (and often times insignificant others such as the media, peer groups, etc.) to control experiences or decisions.

While establishing identity is listed in the fifth vector, the interrelated nature of Chickering's vectors asserts that identity is strongly dependent upon, related to, and validated through the development of each of the other vectors. Establishing identity involves a "growing awareness of competencies, emotions, values, confidence in standing alone and bonding with others, and moving beyond intolerance toward openness and self-esteem" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 49). Researchers are now beginning to acknowledge the importance of developing not only the cognitive but also the social and personal side of college student growth (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Love & Love, 1995). "The research unequivocally demonstrates that college has impact on a wide range of cognitive and affective outcomes" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. xiii). Josselson (1987) defined identity as "a dynamic fitting together of parts of the personality with the realities of the social world so that a person has a sense of both internal coherence and meaningful relatedness to the real world" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 181). One of the most important goals of adolescence is defining one's identity. Maturing adolescents are presented with a series of challenges or crises which, when properly resolved, give the individual an opportunity to develop a positive identity (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Marcia, 1980). "Some evidence does indicate that the 'search for identity' is a far more common practice among college students than among similarly aged young people or in the general population" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 180).

How does the "real" self stack up against the "ideal" self (Chickering & Reisser, 1993)? Regardless of how well an individual has progressed through the previous vectors of development, it is important to note that "we define who we are in part by discovering who we respect, how they feel about us, and how to deal with reactions that do not confirm our self-image" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 198). Through the challenges of the classroom and the controlled social environments of college campuses, students face several series of crises and achievements which help them to build self-concept and self-regard. Self-esteem is one of the key foundations to identity development. How individuals see themselves and how they feel that others see them can determine how satisfied they become with their own identities. Receiving good grades; positive feedback on papers and projects; and honest assessments from faculty, friends, employers, and family members give college students what is needed to strengthen a healthy identity.

Identity development is one of the most tenuous and significant tasks that adolescents must encounter within their lifetime. The process of identity development "neither begins nor ends with adolescence" (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983; Marcia, 1980, p. 160). Adolescence is simply one of the most crucial periods of life in which the transition is most pronounced (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983).

> The most important of its [identity development] tasks is the struggle to synthesize all childhood identifications as they become enlarged and enriched by new ones. The successful end result of this struggle will be the formation of a solidified personality,

> endowed with a subjective feeling of identity that is confirmed and accepted as such by society. (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983, p. 5)

If the self-image that a student holds is fairly accurate and positive and that image matches the one that others see in him or her, a sense of self-acceptance and adequacy surfaces that helps the student not only to continue to portray those positive attributes but also to improve in areas that need enrichment (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Also, it is important to note the importance that establishing inter- and intrapersonal relationships plays in validating one's identity. Much of what we think about ourselves is strongly linked to how we feel that others see us. If we receive or perceive negative or nebulous messages through our relationships with those with whom we are supposed to connect in a progressive manner, positive identity development is difficult to achieve.

In a recent longitudinal research study (Chickering & Reisser, 1993), confidence and self-esteem emerged as the top critical variables necessary for African American student success and achievement on predominantly White campuses.

> [Several] other variables were also identified, each having aspects unique to Black students when compared with others. These included: realistic self-appraisal, management of racism, demonstrated community service, preference for long-range goals over immediate needs gratification, availability of a strong support person, successful leadership experience, nontraditionally acquired knowledge, spirituality and relationships with the extended family. (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, pp. 190-192)

Black Identity Within General Identity Theories

Previous to the 1970s, there were no available models specific to the identity development of African Americans (Helms, 1990). Neither were those models that were available applicable in many ways to African Americans, other ethnic minorities, or women (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Cross, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Helms, 1990a). Models that existed prior to 1970 were focused on deficit model analysis which sought to explain the deficiencies inherent in the Black "personality" or identity (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990a). In 1959, Erikson described Black identity as a very precarious one, asserting that "any disruption of the 'child like' demeanor of the Negro identity" such as education or unrestricted freedom, would "thrust these Negroes into a dangerous and evil identity stage" (Erikson, 1959, p.37). Erikson went on to postulate that a positive Negro identity was "mild, submissive, dependent, somewhat querulous, but always ready to serve, and with occasional empathy and childlike wisdom" (Erikson, 1959, p.37). Admittedly, Erikson (1959) had little or no contact with the "Negro" citizens during that time period.

Unfortunately, the experience of African Americans was, and in many cases is, viewed through the lens of the dominant culture which has resulted in a consistent misdiagnosis or distorted interpretation of the African American experience (Baldwin & Bell, 1985; Banks, 1981;

Cross, 1995, 1991; Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983; Helms, 1990a; Hilliard, 1992; McEwen et al., 1990; Myers, 1985; Semaj, 1981). In an effort to explain the "Negro identity" of the 1950s and 1960s, in his publication Who Speaks for the Negro?, Robert Penn Warren (1965) conveyed how the African American felt "alienated from the world to which he is born and the country of which he is a citizen, yet surrounded by the successful values of that new world, and country, [therefore] . . . how can the Negro define himself" (Warren, 1965, p. 17)? According to Warren (1965), African Americans shared a collective sense of alienation and forced estrangement from a world that not only refused to acknowledge their presence but also denied them access to those things which contributed to the attainment of not only a healthy identity but also a healthy existence. African Americans were (and are) in a sense on the outside looking in at the group who were setting and defining the rules of what constitutes a healthy and normal identity.

In a revision of his original theories of ego identity development, Erik Erikson (1968) acknowledged the curious dichotomy of Black identity when he interpreted the writings of African American intellectual W. E. B. DuBois who "lived about as 'integrated,' and in fact, favored a life in his Berkshire town as any American Negro child can claim to have had" (Erikson, 1968, p. 296). According to Erikson, DuBois experienced all of what is necessary to develop a healthy identity but, like many of the African American writers of his time, shared in expressing a kindred sense of invisibility (Ellison, 1952), imperceptibleness (Morrison, 1970), and disaffection (Morrison, 1970) from the larger American society.

In his famous work, The Souls of Black Folks, DuBois (1903) described the experience of being an African American as "hindered in their natural movement, expression, and development" (DuBois, 1903, pp. 130-131). DuBois (1903) also introduced the concept of "dual consciousness" or double identity, equating the African American identity with a split or counterpart identity:

> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife--this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of [W]hite Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face. (DuBois, 1903, p. 4)

Erikson (1959, 1968) reported that both history and experience impact upon the identity development of minority groups and other people of color. While some may view the problems of African American identity development as deficient or negative, Erikson (1968) described Negro identity as an adaptive coping technique in which African Americans have learned to protect themselves from potentially troublesome circumstances. "Negro[s] are apt to develop a 'surrendered identity' [which] has reduced many Negro men to the reflection of the 'negative'

recognition which surrounds them like an endless recess of distorting mirrors" (Erikson, 1968, p. 302).

Chronicling a discussion with a Jewish colleague, Erik Erikson (1968) detailed an example of ethnic misunderstanding. In a discussion on the education of Negro children, Erikson's colleague could not understand why education was not an "instinctive" (Erikson, 1968, p. 302) response for African American mothers as it was for Jewish mothers. Having further researched the experience of African Americans, Erikson rebutted his colleague's statement in responding that the "Negro mother" was employing an appropriate survival technique.

> [G]iven American Negro history, the equivalent of 'instinctive sense' may have told the majority of Negro mothers to keep their children, especially the gifted and the questioning ones, away from futile and dangerous competition---that is, for survival's sake to keep them in their place as defined by an indifferent and hateful 'compact majority.' (Erikson, 1968, p. 302)

In an attempt to broaden his understanding of Black identity, Erikson (1968) proposed a more "inclusive" (Erikson, 1968, p. 314) identity model which included not only historical realities and their impacts but also the influence of cultural and group values such as religion. Erikson saw these variables, in addition to academic and social interaction, as very influential to positive identity development (Erickson, 1968). Therefore, in order to understand fully and interpret the healthy identity development of minority group members such as African Americans, researchers must be able to account for the distinct cultural, spiritual, historical, educational, economic, and social realities of these groups.

Ethnic, Racial, and Cultural Identity Theories

One of the most widely used and widely known theory of Black identity and Black identity development was developed by researcher William Cross (!971, 1991). The Nigrescence model of Black identity was developed in order to explain the theoretical transformation of African Americans during the 1970s from the "Negro" to "Black." Nigrescence theory is based upon a two-factor theory of development, which asserts that "self-concept (SC) = personal identity (PI) + reference group orientation (RGO) (or group identity--GI)" (Cross, 1991, p. 39). Personal identity (PI) is an individual personality characteristic that is shared across gender, race, ethnicity, culture, and class, while group identity or reference group orientation is the "particulars" or cultural norms that connect groups of people together. Sharing a reference group orientation means seldom having to explain cultural practices, mores, or customs. The standards, routines, symbols, values, world views, etc. that a group of people share are their reference group orientation. Reference group orientation guides how individuals perceive and react to the world around them (Cross, 1991). An example of how RGO can guide behavior could be demonstrated through the Clark doll experiment (Clark, 1953). When the young African American children overwhelmingly chose the White doll over the Black doll, they were demonstrating a reference

group orientation response. Children in the experiment chose the White doll in reaction to a shared cultural experience of maltreatment which they directly attributed to the color of their skin.

According to Cross, Black identity is developed within a transformative paradigm within which Blacks first go through a pre-encounter stage in which they identify with the dominant White culture and reject their own culture . In the second stage of Black identity, encounter, individuals reject previous identification with the White culture, seeking instead to identify with Black culture. During the immersion-emersion stage, individuals are completely engrossed in Black culture while completely rejecting White culture. In the last two stages of Cross' model, internalization and internalization-commitment, individuals internalize their Black culture transcending racism and confronting all forms of cultural oppression. The highest level of Black identity development is a stage in which the individual reaches a level of self-concept where he or she is comfortable with his or her identity and is committed to transcending racism and in confronting all forms of cultural oppression.

While Nigrescence stage and typology models certainly have their merits in illustrating some of the issues related to Black identity development, there is still a lot of work to be done in this area. There are a number of historical, social, economic, political, biological, sociological, and anthropological issues that need to be explored and represented. Unfortunately (or perhaps fortunately), there are no "quick fix" development models available to interpret or clarify the numerous factors that have impacted and influenced Black identity development. Researchers who make an attempt to analyze and interpret Black identity development within the context of the Black experience beyond the Nigrescence model will be more effective and realistic in understanding how African Americans develop healthy identities within their cultural reference group orientation. "Social scientists argue that assessment in the various areas of African American life and functioning must be culturally specific to the social/cultural reality of African American people" (Baldwin & Bell, 1985, p. 62).

For many years, America has prided itself on the ideal of being a melting pot of multiple cultures and ethnicities which comprise one substantive American culture. Unfortunately economic, political, educational, social, and linguistic obstacles have prevented or continue to hinder many ethnic minorities from making this ideal a reality. Racial intolerance, cultural misunderstanding, and ethnic discrimination has caused many ethnic minorities to remain in the once temporary cultural enclaves or neighborhoods and to remain ethnically enculturated. Racial intolerance has forced many ethnic minorities to separate further from dominant societal culture.

In recent years, the concept of acculturation has emerged as a promising and informed way of explaining and understanding ethnic differences. The concept of acculturation refers to the extent to which ethnic-cultural minorities participate in the cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and practices of their own culture versus those of the dominant culture. The process of acculturation is a continuum, rather than a stage-theory approach, ranging from traditional to acculturated levels of social interaction or integration (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Researchers argue whether

or not the concept of race adequately describes or limits the diversity which exists within the African American community.

> The concept of race tells us to focus on the physical differences between groups and view these as socially important; race tells us to look at how people differ physically and see those physical differences as the explanation for behavioral differences. The concept of ethnicity, on the other hand, tells us to focus on cultural differences between groups and see those as socially important; ethnicity tells us to look at how people differ culturally and to see those cultural differences as the explanation for behavioral variance. (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996, pp. 8-9)

Researchers (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) asserted that utilizing the concept of ethnicity rather than race and the extent to which they are involved in the dominant culture can help researchers to study ethnic groups such as African Americans in a much more realistic framework. Landrine and Klonoff (1996) asserted that African Americans are the only American ethnic group that is currently being studied as if they are a homogeneous, monolithic, acultural group which makes it difficult to explain why many individuals or groups of African Americans do not fit within past or current racial categories. Currently, how an individual or group is categorized is context specific or, in other words, dependent upon the locality of the person or group being categorized (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) suggested that current models of acculturation are circular rather than linear (or stage model) in nature. Rather than moving from a traditional (original) culture directly into a acculturated (integrated) culture, ethnic minority group members, like African Americans, tend to move within rather than through traditional, acculturated, multicultural, and neotraditional statuses. Many ethnic minorities operate as semi-autonomous entities or cultures within the dominate culture managing duplicate institutions such as newspapers, magazines, churches, schools, social and political clubs, stores, restaurants, etc. The presence of these duplicate institutions helps to maintain and validate ethnic minority culture and identity. The presence of ethnic enclaves, neighborhoods, or sections also helps ethnic minority group members to maintain varying levels of cultural contact within the dominant culture. "People socialized within enclaves have acquired the behaviors, ways of understanding, taxonomies, interactional rules, dialect, and cognitive schema specific to their culture through cultural and ethnic socialization" (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

The extent to which minority group members are socialized or acculturated into the dominant culture is highly dependent upon how much they interact within the original cultural group, whether or not they are connected to an ethnic enclave, and whether they maintain association with the duplicate ethnic institutions. Other significant variables that affect levels of acculturation are age, children, and racism/discrimination (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Racism/discrimination is one of the most significant variables. "Ethnicity becomes salient for them [African Americans] because of the discrimination that they face in the dominant local environment. In addition, because they are often the sole minority (or one of a few minorities) in

the dominant local environment, their ethnic group membership increases the salience for them and for members of the dominant group" (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996, p. 54). Often because of this alienated station, acculturated minorities tend to return to their original culture and consciously reject the dominant culture because of the discrimination that they face within the dominant cultural environment (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

As a theory of ethnic identity, unlike the theories of Cross (1991) and Landrine and Klonoff (1996), James Banks' (1988b) typology of ethnic identity development is cross cultural rather than ethnic specific. As a multicultural theorist, Banks saw ethnic identity development as a series of stages in which individuals define and perceive their culture or ethnicity (Tomlinson, 1996). Banks' typology helps individuals to understand or resolve feelings not only within their own specific cultural group but also between other ethnic or cultural groups. Unlike similar measures of development, Banks' typology is a construct that is not sequential in nature. Instead of progressing through a series of stages or statuses, Banks' typology describes a cognitive process in which individuals may progress or regress over a period of time (Tomlinson, 1996). The first cognitive stage, ethnic psychological captivity, is the stage in which the individual experiences ethnic self-rejection and low self-esteem, believes negative ideologies about his or her own culture, and may strive to become highly acculturated. Ethnic encapsulation is the stage in which the individual believes in ethnic exclusiveness or voluntary separatism, believes in the superiority of his or her own group, and may feel that his or her way of life is threatened by other ethnic groups.

Banks' ethnic identity clarification stage is characterized by the acceptance of self, the ability to accept positive aspects of one's own ethnic group, and feelings that his or her way of life is threatened by other ethnic groups. Bi-ethnicity is the stage at which the individual functions effectively in two cultures and demonstrates an orientation toward a more multi-ethnic and pluralistic view of society. Multiethnicity and reflective nationalism is the fifth stage in which the individual has a clarified ethnic self-identity and a positive attitude toward other ethnic and racial groups and is self-actualized. The final stage, globalism and global competency, is the stage at which the individual demonstrates reflective and positive ethnic, national, and global identifications and the knowledge, skills, and commitment needed to function within cultures (Banks, 1988b; Tomlinson, 1996).

Similar to Banks' typology, Stuart Hauser and Eydie Kasendorf (1983) also attempted to measure the interaction between Black and White identity development. The purpose of the study was to explore the relationship between personality development and sociocultural contexts (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983). Also similar to Banks' (1980) expansion of ego identity development, Hauser and Kasendorf sought to differentiate the stages of adolescent identity formation affected by the social relationships between African Americans and European Americans. Hauser and Kasendorf also saw a need for a separate construct that described the negative or despondent personality formation. Development of identity is reflected by changes and consistencies of self-images. One important aspect of this constancy of self-images is the extent

to which present self-images resemble those the individual held in the past (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983).

According to Hauser and Kasendorf (1983), there are five stages (or statuses) of personality development. Progressive identity formation is the stage from childhood that goes throughout adolescence with ego identity developing with an acceleration occurring during adolescence. "Individuals manifest a progression in identity formation where the structural integration and temporal stability of his or her self-images are simultaneously increasing over any given period of time, though not necessarily at the same rate" (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983, p. 29). Similar to Marcia's (1980) typology, individuals in the identity diffusion stage fail to achieve the integration and continuity of self-images. In the third stage, identity foreclosure, individuals are prematurely fixed on their self-images, thereby interfering with development of other potentials and possibilities for self-definition. Identity foreclosure is an interruption in the process of identity formation (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983, p. 29).

In an added dimension of identity, the negative identity captures the configuration of self-images fixed upon those identifications and roles that have been presented to the individual as most undesirable. The individual sense of identity is based on the repudiated or scorned images. Negative identity is a type of identity foreclosure. Individuals are committed to what is rejected or objected to societally. Although theoretically it has different developmental roots than identity foreclosure, the structural pattern is the same: "abortive identity formation, pre-mature fixation of self-images, thereby halting further evolution of self-definition" (Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983, p. 29).

In an attempt to measure ethnic identity across cultures, Phinney (1992) developed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). The MEIM measure provides a means of examining ethnic identity as a general phenomenon that is indicative of young adults' degree of identification with their ethnic group, regardless of the unique characteristics of their group (Phinney, 1992). According to Phinney, the components or constructs that comprise the measures for the MEIM are self-identification and ethnicity, ethnic behaviors and practices, affirmation and belonging, and ethnic identity achievement. The self-identification and ethnicity construct describes how individuals self-select their own ethnic category as opposed to designation or categorization. Self-assessment allows individuals from mixed or unidentifiable backgrounds to label themselves according to their predominant ethnic and/or cultural socialization. Ethnic behaviors and practices include personal involvement in social activities with members of one's ethnic group and participation in cultural traditions. The affirmation and belongings construct encompasses positive feelings toward one's group membership as well as feelings of belonging and attachment to the group. Ethnic identity achievement involves an exploration of the meaning of one's ethnicity that eventually leads to a secure sense of oneself as a member of a minority group. A sense of ethnic pride, rather than arrogance or hatred, is achieved.

In 1992, Rita Hardiman and Bailey Jackson again attempted to design a cross-cultural measure that could capture the identity development of multiple ethnic groups. Through their

research on racial identity development, Hardiman and Jackson sought to describe how social factors (such as racism) affect the development and subsequent world views (or perceptions of the world around them) of young adults. For African Americans, there are five specific stages of personality development that are negotiated during identity formation. The naive stage is the stage in which there is little or no consciousness of race in a social context. Dominant (White) and target (African American) groups are vulnerable to the logic system and world view of their socializing agents or the dominant culture. In the second stage, acceptance, there is passive acceptance of the prevailing social definitions of Blackness and Whiteness, both negative and positive. During the third stage, redefinition, there is a conscious rejection of the racist definition of one's racial identity. A considerable amount of energy is placed upon not only unlearning, but also undoing earlier negative programming about identity. In the final stage of internalization, there is an active and positive integration and redefinition of racial identity into all aspects of the self. There is a clear understanding and appreciation not only of the target group identity but also of dominant and other ethnic groups.

Level of Afrocentrism and Africanity are another method of evaluating Black or African American identity. According to Semaj (1981),

> The I represents one's perception of oneself 'in relationship to others' attitudes and feelings towards self. The Me is one's attitudes about self which develop as a result of the internalized or incorporated perceptions of others. The We is the important component of self in the African ontology and represents the feelings or perceptions one has towards one's group. Note that the I and Me correspond to [William] Cross's (1972) "personal self," while the We is the reference group orientation. This We, or "reference group orientation," can also be classified as the extended component of identity; thus the basis for the Extended Identity Model. (Semaj, 1981, p. 169)

The African Extended Identity Model consists of three stages or phases: alien extended identity, diffused extended identity, and collective identity. During the alien extended identity phase, individuals consistently demonstrate a Eurocentric world view; they are concerned with their individual needs over the collective good, and they either denigrate nor deny their Africanity. They have the potential to add hostility to their alienation. Because they always seek the approval of the alien group, they may be even willing to work against the collective survival of their own group. Individuals in the diffused extended identity phase consciously and unconsciously try to balance the Black and alien world views, but, in general, the scale is tipped toward the Black perspective. They believe that Black is beautiful but know that White is powerful. They are aware that changes are necessary but have strong doubts that changes are possible. They may admit the guilt of White society but are willing to forgive and forget, without retribution or compensation. However, these people have the potential of becoming alienated or collective in their identity under the appropriate psychological-socio-politico-economic conditions (Semaj, 1981).

The diffused extended or bi-cultural person is the most likely outcome for a Black person socialized under the oppression of an alien society. Individuals who consistently demonstrate an

Africentric world view and who are committed to the collective survival of Black people and always seek to be more consistent in their Africanity (body, mind, and spirit) are in the collective extended identity phase. These individuals have the potential to stimulate the people to action; they amplify the contradictions in the society and may become revolutionaries. They actively work to build Black institutions in all areas of life and not depend on charismatic leadership (by itself) to save Blacks. Their commitment to the struggle is not limited by time or space; they study the past to gain perspective on the present while planning for the future; they try to connect the events in the diaspora with those on the African continent, forging cultural, economic and, ultimately, political links. They will not trade one set of masters for another, and so avoid selling out their race in the name of class (Semaj, 1981).

Africentric psychologist Joseph Baldwin's African Self-Extension Orientation has been defined, in part at least, as "felt experience" (Baldwin, 1981, p. 174) at the deepest level of physical experience, and as a "spiritualistic transcendence" (Baldwin, 1981, p. 174) in experience. "This spirituality is believed to represent the key ingredient which allows for 'self-extension' to occur in African psychological experience" (Baldwin, 1981, p. 174). The second component of Black personality which derives itself from Baldwin's African self-extension orientation is the African self-consciousness phase where the conscious process of communal phenomenology is conceptualized. The African self-consicousness is subject to social-environmental forces and influences. One of the most important aspects of the African self-consicousness phase is that it represents "the conscious embodiment and operationalization of Africanity, or the African survival thrust (the conscious expression of Africanity in Black people)" (Baldwin, 1981, p. 174). Under normal conditions, this phase includes

> (a) the recognition of oneself as 'African' (biologically, psychologically, culturally, and so forth) and of what being African means as defined by African cosmology; (b) the recognition of African survival and proactive development as one's first priority value; (c) respect for and active perpetuation of all things African, including African life and institutions; (d) a standard of conduct toward all things 'non-African' and toward those things, peoples, and so forth, that are 'anti-African'. (Baldwin, 1981, pp. 174-175)

When this core system of the African American personality is nurtured developmentally, as well as situationally, through intrinsic personal and institutional support systems, it achieves vigorous and full expression in terms of the congruent pattern of basic traits (beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors) which affirm African American life and the authenticity of its African cultural heritage. The African self-consciousness construct thus functions as the organizing prinicipal of the African American personality (Baldwin & Bell, 1985). African self-consciousness is the core component of the African American identity and "represents the conscious level expressions of the 'oneness of being' communal phenomenology which characterizes the fundamental self-extension orientation of African people" (Baldwin & Bell, 1985, p. 62).

According to Baldwin's theory, deviations from the pattern of normal functioning in the African self-consciousness core of the personality are explained in terms of variations in the

personal and institutional support systems characterizing the developmental and experiential life space of the individual. "Both individual differences and collective behavior among African Americans can be explained from this Africentric framework. In addition, the important issue of African American mental health in general can also be interpreted from the framework of this theory" (Baldwin & Bell, 1985, p. 63).

Contemporary African American Identity

Today's generation of adolescents and young adults is experiencing a very different set of life circumstances than generations previous. Growing up in a more culturally diverse and integrated environment than previous generations, their concept of identity is currently linked to the culture, history, and experiences of the Black community and is also affected by the influence of the dominant White culture as well as other ethnic communities.

In order accurately to assess or measure whether or not an individual has the potential to develop or currently has a strong or healthy identity, it is imperative that additional constructs be included that go beyond simple Black versus White interaction or how much or how little an individual is immersed within the dominant or subordinate culture. Identity development is an epigenetic (Erikson, 1959) process that begins not at the point of entry into a secondary school setting, nor does it begin shortly after the birth of a child. The emergence of group and individual identity is a continuum shaped by past, immediate, and future environments. Preceding identity constructs have laid the groundwork and foundation from which present and future constructs will arise. Like change, the only fixed characteristic that the concept of identity shares is that, dependent upon the context of the current environment, it will continue to change, emerge, and evolve upwards as well as outwards.

Based upon the literature available on identity and the influence of race and ethnicity on identity development of African Americans, several consistent themes have emerged: (a) contemporary African American college students are strongly influenced and affected by their families and community; (b) racial and ethnic relationships between not only White Americans but also between other significant cultural and ethnic minorities must be considered; and (c) historical circumstances have substantially shaped the experiences of African American people. How congruently African Americans are able to consolidate and make sense of their external and internal environments determines how effectively they will function, not only within the African American community, but also within society as a whole. In order to assess contemporary African American identity sufficiently, researchers must consider the impact and influence of family socialization, racial consciousness, cultural connecteness, collective thought, and self-concept (Burt, 1998).

Summary

In order to establish what constitutes a stable and healthy identity in African Americans, some essential environmental elements must be present. These include (a) a consistent extended

familial network for the purposes of facilitating the socialization of family members; (b) a realistic and reliable understanding of the African American experience (historical, cultural, political, racial, economical, social, and educational); (c) connection to and affiliation with the cultural practices, norms, and value system of African American people; and (d) a realistic evaluation of individual and group competencies, proficiencies, and abilities.

While African American culture is woven within the fabric of the American experience, the collective history of African Americans in the United States is one of many contradictions. It is a history of struggle and triumph, of exclusion and inclusion, and of humility and pride, as well as denial and recognition. It is the purpose of research somehow to gain a better understanding of human lives; however, we cannot hypothesize American identity without having a clear understanding of the identities of Americans. African Americans have shared challenging history; however, they have also demonstrated a remarkable collective resilience and fortitude. To understand and assess the identity development of African Americans accurately in this present day (or in the future), we must acknowledge and understand the history of the African American experience because according to this old Jabo (Liberian) proverb, "The fruit must have a stem, before it grows" (Copage, 1993, September 27).

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Identity, Ethnic Identity, Racial Identity, and Student Development Theories

compiled by Janeula M. Burt©

Author	Date	Components	Description
Erikson, E. (Identity)	1963	1. Identity 2. Diffusion	1. Individuals connect and integrate the roles and skills cultivated earlier in childhood with the opportunities and promise of a future societal role or career. 2. Individuals have difficulty connecting or identifying with a future occupational role. As a result, diffused individuals tend to find themselves in the moratorium stage of psychosocial development between childhood and adulthood.
Marcia, J. E. (Identity)	1964	1. Identity Achieved 2. Moratorium 3. Foreclosed 4. Diffused	1. Individual has experienced a crisis period and is committed to an occupation and ideology. 2. Individual is currently experiencing a crisis period and is undecided, vague, or uncertain about commitment. 3. Individual is committed to an ideology but has not experienced a crisis which may force a challenge to their current beliefs. 4. Individual may or may not have experienced a crisis period but demonstrates an active lack of commitment rather than action.
Hauser & Kasendorf (Racial Identity)	1983	1. Progressive Identity Formation 2. Identity Diffusion 3. Identity Foreclosure 4. Negative Identity 5. Psychosocial Moratorium	1. Individuals manifest a progression in identity formation where the structural integration and temporal stability of his or her self-images are simultaneously increasing over any given period of time, though not necessarily at the same rate. 2. Individuals fail to achieve integration and continuity of self-images. 3. Individuals gain a sense of integration, purpose, stability, and a decrease in subjective confusion, however, the stability and purpose are the result of avoidance of alternatives. 4. Individual construction of self-images is fixed upon characteristics that are derided, devalued, or rejected. Individuals are committed to what is rejected or objected to societally. 5. Individuals are an "experimental" stage and are open to trying a diverse, variant, and fluctuation of approaches.

Author	Date	Components	Description
Cross, W. E. (Black Identity)	1991	1. Pre-encounter 2. Encounter 3. Immersion/ Emersion 4. Internalization /Commitment	1. Individuals identify with the dominant white culture and reject their own culture. 2. Individuals reject previous identification with white culture seeking instead to identify with Black culture. 3. Individuals are completely engrossed in Black culture while completely rejecting white culture. 4. Individuals reach a level of self-concept where he or she is comfortable with his or her identity and are committed to transcending racism and in confronting all forms of cultural oppression.
Chickering & Reisser (College Student Development)	1993	1. Developing Competence 2. Managing Emotions 3. Moving through Autonomy Toward Interdepen-dence 4. Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships 5. Establishing Identity 6. Developing Purpose 7. Developing Integrity	1. Students gain intellectual, intra personal as well as physical proficiency. In this vector, students concentrate on refining the skills that will make them productive citizens. 2. Involves learning to balance the wide range of stimuli and emotional responses that college students experience during their matriculation in a productive manner. 3. Students learn that they will not benefit from society without contributing positively to the social structure. 4. Involves cultivating tolerance and appreciation for differences of thought, personal attributes and experiences as well as developing a capacity for affection and understanding. How well an individuals relate to others provides perhaps one of the most powerful cognitive learning experiences for college students. 5. Involves a "growing awareness of competencies, emotions, values, confidence in standing alone and bonding with others, and moving beyond intolerance toward openness and self esteem. 6. Students clarify their vocational goals and objectives and integrate them with the larger group of future co-workers, family and friends. 7. Core values are incorporated with personal and academic achievement. Students in the developing integrity vector are, dependent upon the positive and effective negotiation of the previous stages, able to critically analyze and examine themselves as individuals as well as their environment.

Author	Date	Components	Description
Banks (Racial Identity)	1981	1. Ethnic Psychological Captivity 2. Ethnic Encapsulation 3. Ethnic Identity Clarification 4. Bi-Ethnicity 5. Multi-Ethnicity 6. Globalism and Global Competency	1. Person internalizes society's negative view of his/her ethnic group. 2. Person participates primarily with own ethnic group which is idealized. 3. Person learns to accept self. 4. Person possesses healthy sense of ethnic identity and can function in ethnic and White culture. 5. Person is self-actualized and can function beyond superficial levels in differing ethnic environments. 6. Person can use universal ethnic knowledge to function within ethnic groups worldwide.
Phinney (Racial Identity)	1992	1. Self-Identification and Ethnicity 2. Ethnic Behaviors and Practices 3. Affirmation and Belonging 4. Ethnic Identity Achievement	1. Self-selection of ethnic category as opposed to designation or categorization. Self-assessment allows individuals from mixed or un-identifiable backgrounds to label themselves according to their predominant ethnic and/or cultural socialization. 2. Includes personal involvement in social activities with members of one's ethnic group and participation in cultural traditions. 3. Encompasses positive feelings towards one's group membership as well as feelings of belonging and attachment to the group. 4. Involves an exploration of the meaning of one's ethnicity that eventually leads to a secure sense of oneself as member of a minority group.

Author	Date	Components	Description
Hardiman & Jackson (Racial Identity)	1992	1. Naive 2. Acceptance 3. Resistance 4. Redefinition 5. Internalization	1. With little or no consciousness of race in a social context. Dominant and target groups are vulnerable to the logic system and world view of their socializing agents. 2. Passive acceptance of the prevailing social definitions of Blackness and Whiteness. 3. Rejection of the racist definition of one's racial identity. A considerable amount of energy is placed upon not only unlearning, but also undoing earlier negative programming about his or her identity. 4. The integration of the redefined racial identity into all aspects of the self. 5. The integration of the redefined racial identity into all aspects of the self.
Semaj (African Extended Identity Model)	1981	1. Alien Extended Identity 2. Diffused Extended Identity 3. Collective Identity	1. Individuals consistently demonstrate a Eurocentric world view, they are concerned with their individual needs over the collective good, they are either denigrate or deny their Africanity. 2. Individuals consciously and unconsciously, try to balance the Black and alien world views, but in general, the scale is tipped towards the Black perspective. They believe that Black is beautiful but know that white is powerful. The diffused extended, or bi-cultural person is the most likely outcome for a Black person socialized under the oppression of an alien society. 3. Individuals who consistently demonstrate an Africentric wold view and are committed to the collective survival of Black people and always seek to be more consistent in their Africanity (body, mind, and spirit). These individuals have the potential to stimulate the people to action; they amplify the contradictions in the society and may become revolutionaries.

Author	Date	Components	Description
Landrine & Klonoff (Cultural Identity)	1996	1. Trad. Family Structures and Values. 2. Pref. for Things African American 3. Trad. Foods 4. Interracial Attitudes 5. Trad. Health Beliefs and Practices 6. Relig. Beliefs and Practices 7. Trad. Socialization 8. Superstitions	1. The extent to which individuals participate in traditional African American cultural practices. 2. The extent to which individuals prefer to frequent or utilize African American resources such as newspapers, television shows, restaurants, stores, products, etc. 3. The extent to which individuals prepare and consume traditional African American foods and food products. 4. General attitudes of African Americans toward dominate White culture. 5. General cultural beliefs of African Americans about health, healing, and illness. 6. General beliefs about religion, spirituality, and religious practices. 7. Common childhood experiences and socialization practices of African American children. 8. The extent to which African American participate or believe in cultural superstitions.
Baldwin & Bell (African Self-Consciousness Competency Dimensions)	1985	1. Awareness 2. Affirmation 3. Self-Knowledge 4. Resistance	1. Individual possesses an awareness of his/her Black identity (a sense of collective consciousness) and African cultural heritage, and sees value in the pursuit of knowledge of Self (i.e. African history and culture throughout the world---encompassing African American experience). 2. The person recognizes Black survival priorities and the necessity for institutions (practices, customs, values, etc.) which affirm Black life. General ideological and activity priorities are placed upon Black survival, liberation and proactive/affirmative development of community. 3. The person actively participates in the survival liberation and proactive development of Black people and defends their dignity, worth, and integrity. Specific activity priorities placed on self-knowledge and self-affirmation (i.e., Africentric values, customs, institutions, etc.). 4. Individuals exhibit a posture of resolute resistance toward "anti-Black" forces, and threats to Black survival in general. The person recognizes the opposition of racial oppression (via people, concepts, institutions, etc.) to the development and survival of Black people, and actively resists it by any appropriate means.

Author	Date	Components	Description
Burt (African American Identity Model)	1998	1. Achieved 2. Moratorium/ Foreclosed 3. Diffused/ Negative	1. Core cultural and ethnic values are integrated and incorporated with personal competencies and responsibilities. Individuals have attained or gained a realistic sense of self or intrapersonal assessment and are able to balance a wide range of emotions that are stimulated by both dominant and ethnic group expectations. Individuals have a clear sense of their current or prospective role/roles within the immediate/extended family, the African American community, and the larger society. Individuals have an appreciation, respect, and understanding of the African and the African American experience. Individual has achieved a sense of personal symmetry and balance. 2. Individuals have little or minimal consciousness of the impact of race and ethnicity. Individuals are in a state of flux or imbalance. Individuals are like sponges that personally absorb everything around them, however are consciously uncommitted or unwilling/unable to make judgments or commitments. Individuals neither outwardly accept nor reject internal/external roles, images, or perceptions. Individuals are in an experimental stage of development. Individuals are completely dependent on outside agents or images for affirmation of self as well as in the definition of roles and responsibilities. Individuals are accepting of externally defined roles without deliberation, reflection, or forethought. Individuals fail to demonstrate or acknowledge the implicit impact of history and culture on the of African American experience and personality. Individuals are conspicuously concerned with peer approval, acceptance, and tend to be "followers." Individuals are apprehensive or resistant to change, challenge, non-acceptance, and/or differences. 3. Individuals fail to achieve a positive, realistic, or healthy identity. Individuals outwardly reject ethnic and/or dominant cultural values. Individuals are concerned with individual needs as opposed to the collective good, familial goals, or societal responsibilities. Self-images are fixed on negative perceptions or aspects of personality development---Self-hatred. Individuals have difficulty connecting with or identifying with ethnic and/or dominant cultures.

Author	Date	Components	Description
Burt African American Identity Scale Components	1998	1. Family Socialization 2. Racial Consciousness 3. Cultural Connectedness /Collective Thought 4. Self-Concept	1. The impact that the socialization process within the family structure impacts racial identity formation of an individual. The degree to which an individual is integrated within the African American family structure 2. The extent to which an individual has a realistic understanding of the impact that race, history, and culture have on the individual and collective experience of African Americans. 3. The degree to which an individual associates or affiliates with African American cultural norms, values, and belief systems. 4. Possessing an invariable, healthy, and positive sense of self both within and outside of the African American community and culture.